

## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 LENDING 02232 01 OF 03 120824Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SMS-01 BIB-01 ACDA-12 EA-10

OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 /059 W

-----073483 120843Z /15

R 120744Z AUG 78

FM AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4594

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 LENINGRAD 02232

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PEPR, SOPN, NATO, UR, US

SUBJECT: LENINGRAD LECTURE ON CURRENT INTERNATIONAL RE-  
LATIONS AUGUST 8, 1978

1. SUMMARY. IN AUGUST 8 PRESENTATION, ZNANIYE SOCIETY LECTURER COVERED SOVIET RELATIONS WITH MUCH OF THE WORLD, BUT CENTRAL ELEMENT WAS TIGHTLY ORGANIZED ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AND HOW SOVIETS INTEND TO DEAL WITH THEM. SPEAKER DEFENDED POLICY OF CALM AND STEADFAST PURSUIT OF DETENTE DESPITE WHAT HE VARIOUSLY DESCRIBED AS A "SHARP TURN," OR AS A PROBLEM OF "VACILLATION" IN U.S. POLICY. HE GAVE EVEN MORE PESSIMISTIC PROGNOSIS FOR FUTURE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THAN SOCIETY LECTURERS HAVE GIVEN IN OTHER PRESENTATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT RECENTLY. FOES OF PRESENT U.S. HARDLINE WERE DESCRIBED AS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 LENDING 02232 01 OF 03 120824Z

HAVING LITTLE INFLUENCE AND SPEAKER PREDICTED THAT PRESENT DIFFICULTIES IN SOVIET RELATIONS WITH U.S. MIGHT LAST FOR SEVERAL YEARS. SPEAKER STRESSED THAT PROBLEM WAS NOT JUST ONE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S INEXPERIENCE, BUT HAD DEEPER ROOTS. REPEATING CURRENT PHRASE THAT WORLD WAS GOING TO LEFT WHILE U.S. WAS GOING TO RIGHT. SPEAKER ALSO DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO CHINESE PROBLEM, DESCRIBING RELATIONS AS "NOT

JUST BAD BUT VERY BAD," BUT CHINA WAS CLEARLY IN SECOND PLACE BEHIND U.S. AS SUBJECT OF SPEAKER'S CONCERN. END SUMMARY.

2. AN AUDIENCE OF ABOUT THREE HUNDRED ASSEMBLED ON AUGUST 8 TO HEAR REGULAR ZNANIYE SOCIETY LECTURER MOISEENKO PROVIDE A "SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS." THIS WAS UNEXPLAINED CHANGE OF TITLE AND SPEAKER FROM PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED DISCUSSION OF "SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA." IN FACT, HOWEVER, RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES PROVIDED THE FRAMEWORK AND MUCH OF THE CONTENT OF HIS PRESENTATION. COMMENTS OF POSSIBLE INTEREST ON OTHER TOPICS WILL BE COVERED BY SEPARATE MESSAGE.

3. PRINCIPLE STRESS OF LECTURE WAS SOVIET DETERMINATION TO PURSUE DETENTE POLICY DESPITE GROWING STRENGTH OF ITS OPPONENTS IN WEST. SPEAKER ARGUED THAT DETENTE HAD NOT ONLY STRENGTHENED PEACE, BUT HAD SERVED OTHER INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL. IN MAKING HIS CASE, SPEAKER CITED POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN YEARS SINCE DETENTE REALIZED, INCLUDING ALLEGED GROWTH OF INFLUENCE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND RESULTANT CHANGE IN THE CORRELATION OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES IN THEIR FAVOR. HE GAVE PARTICULAR STRESS TO "CLASS CHARACTER" OF DETENTE, ARGUING THAT IT WAS CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH STRUGGLE FOR "DEMO-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 LENDING 02232 01 OF 03 120824Z

CRATIZATION" IN WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCREASING INDEPENDENCE OF THE THIRD WORLD, AND GROWING STRENGTH OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

4. SPEAKER THEN TURNED TO EXAMINATION OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICIES AND URGED HIS LISTENERS NOT TO VIEW APPARENT SHARP TURN IN U.S. POLICY SUPERFICIALLY. IT WAS NOT SIMPLY A RESULT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S INEXPERIENCE OR PROVINCIAL BACKGROUND, HE ASSERTED. HE REPEATED ANALYSIS OF U.S. POLITICS PUT FORTH BY POLITBURO MEMBER ANDROPOV IN SPEECH IN NEARBY PETROZAVODSK TWO DAYS EARLIER (AUG 6). IN THIS ANALYSIS, U.S. LEADERSHIP FACED WITH DESIRABILITY OF DETENTE AND UNDESIRABILITY OF ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR "BALANCE OF SOCIAL FORCES" (I.E., INCREASING SOVIET INFLUENCE), IS SEEN TO BE DIVIDED INTO THREE GROUPS. THE HAWKS ADVOCATED A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR ON ALL FRONTS. ANOTHER GROUP WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT CHANGES IN THE BALANCE IN ORDER TO PRESERVE DETENTE AND AVOID RETURN TO COLD WAR. A THIRD GROUP VACILLATED BETWEEN WISH TO AVOID COLD WAR CONFRONTATION AND UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT CHANGES IN THE WORLD SOCIAL STATUS QUO. ANDROPOV CONCLUDED FROM THIS ANALYSIS THAT RESULT OF COMPETITION BETWEEN THESE GROUPS

WOULD BE VACILLATING POLICY WHICH COMBINED CONTINUED,  
LIMITED COMMITMENT TO DETENTE WITH OCCASIONAL CONCESSIONS  
TO THE RIGHT. MOISEENKO PLACED PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON  
NEGATIVE SIDE, THE ALLEGED AMERICAN MOVE AWAY FROM DETENTE.

5. MOISEENKO ARGUED THAT MANY WESTERN LEADERS WERE DIS-  
ILLUSIONED WITH DETENTE, WITH THE HELSINKI ACCORDS AND  
WITH VARIOUS AGREEMENTS TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR, WHICH THEY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 LENDING 02232 02 OF 03 120833Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SMS-01 BIB-01 ACDA-12 EA-10  
OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 /059 W  
-----073574 120844Z /15

R 120744Z AUG 78  
FM AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4595  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 LENINGRAD 02232

HAD EXPECTED WOULD BE USED TO HALT PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM  
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND CHANGE SOCIALIST ORDER FROM  
WITHIN. HE SAID IMPERIALISTS UNDERSTAND THAT DETENTE  
MEANS AN ALTERATION IN LONG RANGE BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES.  
THE LECTURER STRESSED THAT AS A CONSEQUENCE U.S. HAD  
ADOPTED NOT JUST A CAMPAIGN AGAINST DETENTE BUT A SERIES  
OF CONCRETE ACTIONS WHICH WERE DIRECTED TOWARD ACHIEVING  
A NUMBER OF MAJOR GOALS. THE U.S. WAS STRENGTHENING ITS  
TIES WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ONE MAJOR  
GOAL, THE CREATION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER BASED ON  
COLLECTIVE, RATHER THAN U.S. ACTION. HE RECALLED THE  
EXISTENCE OF A NUMBER OF ANTAGONISMS AMONG THE WESTERN  
COUNTRIES, BUT CONCLUDED THAT THESE WOULD BE OVER-RIDDEN

BY COMMON INTERESTS, PRINCIPAL AMONG WHICH WAS A DESIRE TO  
IMPEDE THE FURTHER INDEPENDENCE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 LENDING 02232 02 OF 03 120833Z

6. THE SECOND MAJOR GOAL OF U.S. POLICY WAS DESCRIBED AS  
EFFORT TO EXERT PRESSURE DIRECTLY ON THE USSR IN BILATERAL  
RELATIONS. ECONOMIC PRESSURE WAS ONE AREA. HAVING CON-  
CLUDED THAT DIRECT MILITARY CONFRONTATION WAS OUT OF THE  
QUESTION, THE IMPERIALISTS WERE SEEKING TO TRANSPOSE THE  
STRUGGLE TO THE ECONOMIC ARENA. ACCORDING TO THE SPEAKER,  
THE U.S. WAS STEPPING UP THE ARMS RACE, INCLUDING DEVELOP-  
MENTS OF FIFTY NEW WEAPONS, ALTHOUGH AMPLE SUPPLIES OF  
WEAPONS AND WARHEADS ALREADY EXISTED. PURPOSE OF THIS WAS  
TO FORCE THE SOVIET UNION TO FOLLOW SUIT TO PRESERVE  
PARITY. PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPEECH AT LAUNCHING OF USS  
MISSISSIPPI WAS CITED AS EXAMPLE OF THIS ATTITUDE.  
SPEAKER SAID U.S. LEADERS BELIEVED THAT USSR WOULD BE  
UNABLE TO SOLVE ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITHOUT THE BENEFIT  
OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND DESCRIBED U.S. CANCELLATION OF  
COMPUTER AND DRILLING EQUIPMENT AND, IN USUAL SOVIET  
TERMS, SUGGESTING THEY RAISED QUESTION OF RELIABILITY OF  
U.S. COMMITMENTS.

7. SPEAKER ARGUED THAT THESE ACTIONS, WHICH HE DESCRIBED  
AS HARMFUL TO U.S. INTERESTS IN ECONOMIC SPHERE, WOULD HARM  
RELATIONS IN POLITICAL ARENA TOO. IN THIS REGARD HE CITED  
SALT NEGOTIATIONS, WHERE ADMINISTRATION PROTESTATIONS OF  
DESIRE TO CONCLUDE NEW AGREEMENT DID NOT APPEAR TO BE  
MATCHED BY EFFORTS TO SOLVE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS. SPEAKER  
SAW DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS SECOND MAJOR PROBLEM IN AREA  
OF U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS. IN AFRICA, THE AMERICANS WERE  
UNHAPPY THAT A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WERE MOVING TOWARD  
GENUINE INDEPENDENCE, SOME WERE CHOOSING THE PATH OF  
SOCIALISM, AND THE USSR WAS HELPING SOME OF THESE.  
DESPITE STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONTRARY, THE  
IMPERIALISTS WERE RELATING THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND SALT,  
THE SPEAKER CONTENTED. THEY WERE INSISTING THAT THE USSR  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 LENDING 02232 02 OF 03 120833Z

NOT INTERFERE WITH THE STATUS QUO IN THE BALANCE OF  
SOCIAL FORCES BUT GIVE THE WEST A FREE HAND TO DO SO.  
SPEAKER DESCRIBED SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO NATIONAL INDEPEN-  
DENCE MOVEMENTS IN THESE AREAS AS POLICY BASED ON  
PRINCIPLE, SANCTIONED IN THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION AND SAID  
IT WOULD NOT BE GIVEN UP.

8. THE THIRD ELEMENT IN THE U.S. POLICY, ALONG WITH GREATER JOINT ACTION WITH ALLIES, AND DIRECT PRESSURE ON THE USSR IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FIELDS, WAS "THE CHINESE CARD." SPEAKER SAID CARTER ADMINISTRATION BELIEVED THIS WOULD BE USEFUL BOTH AGAINST THE USSR AND TO STRENGTHEN U.S. POSITION IN ASIA. HE DESCRIBED CHINESE AS ABSORBING SPIRIT OF "HEGEMONISM" WITH THEIR MOTHERS' MILK, CITING OLD IDEOLOGIES OF "MIDDLE KINGDOM" AS HISTORICAL PARALLEL. HE DESCRIBED CHINA AS MENACE TO MOST OF ITS NEIGHBORS AND REPEATED SOVIET CONTENTION THAT CHINA WAS TAKING ON IMPERIALIST TASKS IMPERIALIST COULD NOT HANDLE. HE SINGLED OUT CHINESE RELATIONS WITH ZIMBABWE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS EXAMPLE.

9. HAVING DESCRIBED CHALLENGE, SPEAKER CONCLUDED PRESENTATION WITH DESCRIPTION OF SOVIET RESPONSE, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS HAVING FOUR ELEMENTS. FIRST, USSR SHOULD FOCUS ALL ITS EFFORTS ON STRENGTHENING ITS ECONOMY. HE STRESSED THAT THE JULY PLENUM HAD "ENORMOUS INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE" AND SAID IT WAS VITAL THAT AGRICULTURE ASSUME A LEADING ROLE IN THE ECONOMY. SECONDLY, HE REFERRED TO FOUR MEETINGS WHICH HAD SO FAR TAKEN PLACE IN CRIMEA BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND LEADERS OF FOUR OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, INDICATING THAT MEETINGS WERE PLANNED WITH ZHIVKOV, TSEDENBAL AND "PERHAPS OTHERS." HE CONTRASTED

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 Lening 02232 03 OF 03 120834Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SMS-01 BIB-01 ACDA-12 EA-10

OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 /059 W

-----073586 120848Z /15

R 120744Z AUG 78

FM AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4596

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 LENINGRAD 02232

THESE MEETINGS TO PREVIOUS ONES WHICH HAD CONSIDERED  
ESSENTIALLY BILATERAL RELATIONS. THESE MEETINGS WOULD  
INVOLVE A REVIEW OF THE ENTIRE WORLD SITUATION AND WILL  
LOOK AT ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC QUESTIONS IN THE PERSPEC-  
TIVE OF THE REST OF THIS CENTURY. A THIRD ASPECT OF SOV-  
IET POLICY WAS DESCRIBED AS ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH  
OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. MOISEENKO SAID CEMA WOULD  
HAVE IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN COUNTERING THE PRESSURES  
WHICH WILL BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE USSR. FINAL ELEMENT  
IN SOVIET RESPONSE WAS DESCRIBED AS INCREASED SUPPORT FOR  
WORLD "SOCIAL FORCES" WHICH SUPPORT DETENTE. HE REFERRED  
IN THIS CONTEXT TO MEETINGS IN HELSINKI AND AUSTRALIA.  
SPEAKER AGAIN CALLED FOR A CALM, STEADFAST AND PRINCIPLED  
APPROACH BY THE USSR IN FACE OF VACILLATIONS OF U.S.  
POLICY, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS GREATEST PROBLEM PRESENTLY  
FACING THE USSR. BUCHANAN  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 LENING 02232 03 OF 03 120834Z

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPEECHES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 aug 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978LENING02232  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780330-0174  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** LENINGRAD  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780870/aaaacgir.tel  
**Line Count:** 304  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 06c38264-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 05 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** N/A  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1758754  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** LENINGRAD LECTURE ON CURRENT INTERNATIONAL RE- LATIONS AUGUST 8, 1978  
**TAGS:** PEPR, SOPN, UR, US, NATO  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/06c38264-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014